

WORKERS AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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WAR CLOUDS HOVER OVER EUROPE

Zimmerman Scores Green Frisco Strike Repudiation

With a courage unequalled by any other American labor leader, Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G. W.U., and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has given expression to the unspoken feelings of millions of workers on hearing William Green's vicious repudiation of the general strike in San Francisco.

Zimmerman's statement, issued publicly on July 20, reads as follows: "The statement of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, on the general strike in San Francisco must arouse indignant protest from every sincere and progressive element in the labor movement. It not only shows a complete failure to understand the deep significance of the San Francisco general strike or to grasp the importance of the big issues involved but worse than that, it shows such a disgraceful lack of elementary union loyalty and class solidarity that is positively shocking. It would be an insult to the American labor movement to regard Mr. Green's statement as a true representative of the sentiment of the masses of the organized workers in the American Federation of Labor."

"The general strike in San Francisco was an event of the most national-wide significance. The issues which precipitated that inspiring act of class solidarity are the issues that face the trade union movement in every industry, in every part of the country. They are the issues of the open shop, of 'recognit', and the right of bargaining. At a time when the combined forces of big capital, the gigantic industrial corporations of the country, have launched a vicious campaign to wipe out every trace of unionism and to turn the alleged guarantees of Section 7a into a scrap of paper, it is the manifest duty of every one with the interest of labor at heart, of every friend of labor, to give enthusiastic and unconditional support to every struggle of workers for their elementary rights. The outcome of the general strike on the Pacific Coast was certain to have the most far reaching effects upon the efforts of labor to win the rights of union organization and collective bargaining everywhere in the United States. Nowhere in the land was there a trade union or a group of workers not directly or immediately concerned with the outcome of the general strike in San Francisco. If there ever was an event of real national importance in the labor movement of recent times it was the general strike in San Francisco."

"President Green's public statement was not only an open disavowal of an action undertaken and carried out by the recognized American Federation of Labor Unions in San Francisco but was, in hardly disguised language, a direct attack upon the general strike then in progress. Events have shown that this statement of President Green played a big part in breaking down the morale of the strikers and in opening the way for the disintegration of the whole strike. It was a powerful instrument in the hands of the bitter union-hating, open shop employers of San Francisco. As such, the American workers must judge it and must judge President Green."

At the same time local 22 voiced an urgent call to the New York longshoremen's union to refuse to handle shipping coming from the Pacific Coast as a means of lending effective support to the general strike in San Francisco and other West Coast towns, in a resolution adopted by its executive board. Speaking in the name of its 30,000 members, the dressmakers organization sent a stirring message of enthusiastic greetings to the strikers on the Pacific Coast as well as a warm pledge of full support. The telegram despatched to the general strike headquarters in San Francisco reads:

"In the name of thirty thousand organized workers in its ranks Dressmakers Union Local Twenty-Two of International Ladies Garment Workers Union sends enthusiastic greetings to workers out in general strike in San Francisco and other coast towns. In this great cause we pledge unlimited support and unwavering solidarity. Your cause is cause of all labor and against united forces of employers all trade unions and labor organizations must rally to support of embattled workers on Pacific Coast. We protest most energetically against the murderous hooliganism of the vigilantes aimed at strikers as well as against warlike preparations of the municipal and state authorities to suppress general strike. Long live the solidarity of labor."

(Signed)
Charles S. Zimmerman, Mgr.
Louis Nelson, Chairman.

But when Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of local No. 22, and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, attempted to present the resolution at the meeting of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council on July 19th, he was ruled out of order and prevented from continuing, much to the indignation of many of the delegates present.

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EVELYN LAWRENCE BACK FROM EUROPE

"The spirit of the Austrian workers is that of revolt," was the estimate given by Evelyn Lawrence, just returned from six months in Europe which brought her into intimate contact with the underground movements of Germany and Austria.

Coalition between the Heimwehr and the Nazis is on the books," Comrade Lawrence continued. "The Nazis represent a tremendous force—from thirty to forty per cent of the population—but the threat of Italy forces them to concede a measure of power to the Heimwehr. But the proletariat is still armed and still waiting. It needs only organization. Democracy in Austria is a dead horse. The trend to revolution and soviet power is the wave that will eventually sweep all Austria."

Comrade Lawrence will speak on "Critical Hours in Germany and Austria" on August 8 at Irving Plaza in New York. On August 15 she will speak at the Workers' Circle Lyceum in Newark, on August 17 in Philadelphia, on August 23 in Hartford on August 30 in Boston and also in Paterson and the Anthracite on dates to be announced.

Police Commissioner John F. O'Ryan has made a significant and dangerous move to tame and hog-tie organized labor in New York.

Labor representatives are to be tickled by the police with identification cards stamped, signed, sealed and approved. The possibilities in this arrangement are obvious. Even the reactionary Central Trades Council has entered a vigorous protest.

It is the clear duty of all unions in New York to protest and resist this step toward fascization of the organizations of labor.

PROGRESSIVES WIN DOLL ELECTIONS

Progressive slate in Local 18230 of the Doll & Toy Workers Union swept to victory by the overwhelming majority of 4 to 1. The clique of Mr. S. Farulla, which had stifled the union and retarded its growth, was dealt this defeat by a membership determined to place in leadership men who would advance the cause of progressive unionism. E. Diana, candidate of the progressive group for President defeated his opponent, S. Farulla, by a vote of 306 to 135. Other officers elected were S. Russo, Vice President; A. Ravitch, Secretary-Treasurer, and S. Liberman, J. Priola, J. Minauro, Trustees.

The story of events in this union during recent months will appear in the next issue of Workers Age.

Austria to Be Belgium Of Next Great Conflict

With the assassination of Dollfuss, the hair's-breadth margin between peace and war in Europe has been further narrowed. Authoritative opinion prevails to the effect that the pigmy Chancellor's murder was financed by Hitler and facilitated by his closest co-workers Prince Starhemberg, leader of the Heimwehrs. For the present Schuschnigg is Chancellor.

This Austrian version of the Hitler-Roehm blood-bath hastens the day of the European volcano erupting. With great dispatch Mussolini mobilized his most experienced parade troops with orders to over-flow Austria at half a moment's notice. While France welcomes Mussolini's fanfare as a warning to Hitler, Paris dreads Italian occupation of Austria and the inevitable seizure of more Austrian territory by Italy. Hence, the French puppet government of Jugo-Slavia has mobilized its crack troops on the Austrian border in the imperialist race to guarantee Austrian "independence". This "anxiety" is made more intensely acute by the fact that from now on even less love than before will be lost between Hitler and Mussolini.

For the present the Austrian Nazis, primarily because of foreign pressure, appear thwarted in their moves to seize power. Realizing this, Hitler has maneuvered to rush Van Papen as new German ambassador to Vienna. It is

doubtful whether Italy will allow the new "independent" Austrian government to be appeased by this maneuver. At any rate, Hitler has thus definitely given von Papen a one way ticket out of his cabinet.

As we go to press, several thousand have already been killed and wounded in the fighting between the Italian Fascist setup led by Starhemberg and Hitler's Fascist puppets led by secret German military agents. The murder of Dollfuss who butchered some of the finest and most heroic of the Austrian proletariat is of course only the beginning of another chapter in the disintegration of the Versailles system. The cabinet murders have only started. Only the first shot has been fired in the Viennese government halls. And its thunderous and devastating repercussions will be felt throughout Europe as well as in Austria! The political independence of Austria continues a myth. Three conflicting forces dominate the situation. The German Nazis, the reviving labor movement on a more revolutionary basis, and the ability of foreign capital to continue to finance the Heimwehr are the forces in conflict. The fate of Austria will be settled by that factor which will dominate in this conflict. The entire situation is all the more gravely complicated by the fact that Austria is destined to play in the next war the role Belgium played in the last one.

Wall Street Plans Aid To Protect German Loans

Fearing that the desperate economic plight of the Nazi regime will bring about serious political repercussions, leading bankers in Wall Street are working on plans to extend heavy loans to the sorely pressed Hitler regime.

J. P. Morgan & Co., in close collaboration with Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, is especially worried over the security of the heavy investments made in Germany by American financiers in recent years. In order to save as much as possible of these investments, principal as well as interest, further loans are to be made to German industry.

It will be recalled that when Mussolini was up against it, a syndicate of American bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Co. extended the Italian fascist government a loan of \$100,000,000. This literally was a life-saver for Mussolini and enabled him to pull thru in the stormy days following the Matteotti murder.

Perkins Rushes First Aid

Mr. James A. Perkins, chairman of the Board of Directors of the National City Bank of New York, recently spent several weeks in Germany preparing such first aid plans for the Third Reich.

Mr. George H. Harrison, governor of the Federal Reserve bank of New York, also took a hand in this arrangement during his recent brief stay in Germany. It is further reliably reported that Mr. Montagu Norman, who generally travels incognito, cooperated with Messrs. Perkins and Harrison in the preparation of such loans. Mr. Norman has just arrived in the United States together with Mr. Harrison and as a gesture of friendship to the Nazi government traveled aboard the North German Lloyd liner Europa.

Apparently the big bankers are much worried and they are anxious to avert a sudden crash by extending temporary credits to Germany.

(Continued on Page 2)

EVELYN LAWRENCE

Just Returned from Europe

CRITICAL HOURS IN AUSTRIA
AND GERMANY

Wednesday, Aug. 8 at 8 P. M.
Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Pl.

Progressives Face Fight At Textile Convention

The 6th Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America is being held, August 13th to 18th, at the Hotel Woodstock in New York City. It will undoubtedly be the largest convention in the history of the union, and more than 500 delegates are expected. The ten-fold increase in the membership of the U.T.W. to approximately the 300,000 mark, and the important strike questions now facing the textile workers make this Convention of outstanding significance.

The Progressive forces in the U.T.W. have a huge task before them, in the effort to build an effective opposition to the present reactionary leadership and policies, and in striving to set in motion a million textile workers in a general strike involving all sections of the textile industry on the issues, for a 30 hr. week without reduction in pay, for a \$25 minimum rate for weavers instead of the present \$12-13 and even \$9 scale in the textile codes, and a reduction in the machine-load and the stretch-out.

A challenge must be made to the boasts of McMahon about the great number of strikes he has prevented! The record of the U.T.W. leadership has been a shameful one, indeed. It was not enough that it accepted the worst conditions in any codes of any major industry without a fight (McMahon was even ready to accept a \$10 minimum in the first of all codes—the cotton code), but as a finishing touch, after much fanfare in May about calling a general strike in the cotton industry against the 25% reduction in wages and hours, the McMahon leadership accepted NRA arbitration instead, and the general strike was called off. The "impartial" committee then handed down a decision which gave the workers absolutely nothing, confirming the reduction to \$9 a week minimum wages for the cotton workers. Such was the disgraceful and bitter fruit of reliance on the NRA and impartial arbitration boards.

But this was not all. It was

MINNEAPOLIS USES SILK BLACKJACKS

The third wave of the truckers strike in Minneapolis reveals the truly "humanitarian" purposes for the state militia of Minnesota. Farmer-Laborite Governor Floyd Olson did not declare martial law and call in 2,800 National Guardsmen to break the back of the strike as so many of the truckmen seemed to think. Not at all. He brought in the guardsmen solely "in the interests of labor," to protect strikers from police brutality and the depredations of capitalist thugs.

Labor leaders have pointed out that the presence of the militia has stopped picketing, prevented outdoor meetings and resulted in a large measure of suppression of the press. But these are only unfortunate by-products to Governor Olson, valiant champion of the rights of labor. He is going to save the strikers from the slightest injury even if he has to stop the strike to do it.

The role carried out in San Francisco by Johnson, Merriam and Rossi was essayed in Minneapolis by two reverend missionaries of the National Labor Board offering terms of arbitration. The workers, like the Indians of a century before, accepted the holy dope of the men of God. But the employers did not. They had an ace in the hole.

The ace was turned up with the declaration of martial law—martial law, be it remembered, to protect the downtrodden. In protecting the downtrodden, the following steps have been required. First, complete stoppage of picketing. Second, the running of trucks. Third, the suppression of all criticisms of the sovereign state of Minnesota by newspaper, placard, handbill or otherwise. San Francisco could learn lessons in scabbery from Governor Olson.

immediately after experiencing the remarkable blessings of participation of union representatives in the NRA boards in cotton, that McMahon called off at the last moment a general strike of woolen workers that had been scheduled, in order to accept an arbitration board for the woolen industry!

The insistence of the workers upon strike action could not be crushed, however, and in Alabama more than 15,000 cotton workers have begun a strike against the 25% wage cut. The policy of McMahon is to permit this isolated detachment of Alabama workers to be cut down (there are approximately 400,000 cotton workers in the U. S.) in order to demoralize the rest of the workers in the industry and restrain them from struggle. Instead of this policy which is leading the workers to a terrible defeat, all cotton workers should be called out immediately to support the fight of the courageous Alabama textile workers, and to defeat the wage cut; and the strike of the cotton workers could then be spread to wool, silk and rayon, knitgoods, and hosiery, where the workers are anxious for the broader struggle to begin.

The policy of McMahon in the strike of the 1800 workers at the Tubize Chatillon Corp. rayon manufacturing plant at Hopewell, Va. is a continuation of the subservience to the NRA as the defender of the interests of the workers. The company refuses to reinstate the workers. It threatens to close its Hopewell plant and transfer all its work permanently to its other mills, such as in Rome, Ga. Kelly, the Vice-President of the U.T.W. instead of acting to pull out on strike the other plants and force the company to its knees, turns to the NRA with the plaint that the decision of the National Labor Board has been defied and that the Blue Eagle! Before the Blue Eagle will fly to the aid of the Tubize workers, they could win and lose a dozen strikes.

Wall Street Plans to Aid Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

man capitalists for the purchase of raw materials which are disappearing in Germany.

CFL Condemns Move

In this light it is very important to report that several scores of labor unions and other labor organizations in the United States have been adopting resolutions against the extension of any credits to the Nazi regime. The Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 700,000 workers, has adopted such a resolution reading in part:

WHEREAS, it is now more than ever apparent that Hitler's Nazi stand for the interests of a rich and privileged minority and against the masses, and moreover, that their inhuman persecution of the Jews, their savage destruction of all liberal and labor organizations and their brutal executions and imprisonments establishes a rule by arbitrary ignorance and brutal force matched only by the primitive barbarity of the dark ages.

WHEREAS, now when Nazi Germany is brought to the brink of political and financial ruin by these arbitrary and futile policies, they seek to obtain American credits and loans to Germany to bolster up and perpetuate this reactionary dictatorship.

WHEREAS, such credits and loans might not only prolong the existence of this hateful dictatorship, but might actually aid in the establishment of such a dictatorship in this country where Hitler's representatives are already seeking to create Fascist sentiment.

BE IT RESOLVED by The Chicago Federation of Labor that we vigorously protest against and condemn any attempt to extend aid to the Nazi government directly or indirectly by the extension of American credits or loans.

BE IT RESOLVED that any attempt to extend financial aid to the Nazi government can only be regarded by organized labor as an attempt to preserve this despicable form of Fascist dictatorship

and aid its extension to other countries of the world including the United States.

BE IT RESOLVED that we urgently call upon all trade union and other labor organizations as well as upon all bodies of the American people friendly to labor and progressive policies and opposed to Fascism, to raise their voices in protest against any loans or credits to the Hitler regime so that an aroused public sentiment may prevent any financial assistance that would strengthen Hitlerism and postpone emancipation of the German people.

At its last convention the I.L.G.W.U., representing nearly 200,000 workers, also went on record against the extension of credits to the Hitler government. In many

parts of the country workers are beginning to feel that only they can bring to bear the necessary pressure to tie the hands of Wall Street bankers now coming to the rescue of the evermore sorely pressed fascist savages running and ruining Germany today.

"SHOE WORKER" OUT

The initial issue of the "United Shoe and Leather Worker" is a splendid example of labor journalism at its best.

The sixteen pages of this union paper maintain a good balance between pure news items on organizational activities and more-or-less theoretical articles on general trends in the labor movement.

LIKE A GHOST HE HOVERED OVER THE POLICE OF THREE CONTINENTS

Manabendra Nath Roy is of the heroic revolutionary figures of our time. In America, in Mexico, in Europe, in China, in India his name is anathema to the exploiters and to their hireling henchmen.

To the toilers he brought courage and determination, to the masters, fear.

Roy escaped from the police of India on the eve of the World War. Arrested in America, organizer of the Communist Party of Mexico, leader in the Chinese revolution, a founder of the Comintern, Roy was trapped at last by the mercenaries of British imperialism in India in 1931.

A wave of protest swept the workers of the world as word seeped through the iron ring Britain had clamped around Roy's barbarous dungeon. In a frantically hurried trial, conducted behind prison walls, he was sentenced to twelve years of solitary confinement.

He was allowed no defense and no defense witnesses. But the scathing answer he wrote to hurl at his British judges is the seed from which Indian freedom shall grow. It is

'I ACCUSE'

tracing the seizure of India by Britain, the ruthless oppression of British exploitation and prophesying the end of England's dominion with the glowing words "Yours is the right of conquest and usurpation. Ours is the right of revolt and self-determination."

"I Accuse" in a 30 page pamphlet form may be purchased from the National Literature Department, CPO, 51 West 14th Street, New York City, for 10c a single copy or 50 cents for 10 copies.

You should also read

Where We Stand, the programmatic documents of the Communist Party (Opposition). Three volumes are now available at 25 cents apiece.

What Next for American Labor, by Jay Lovestone. 5 cents.

On Dialectics, by Thalheimer. 10 cents
Road to Communism, 35 cents.

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Why We Shall Win

By NICOLAI BUCHARIN

Millions of workers marched through the streets of our cities and villages on the first of May rejoicing in their growing class power. They marched with scarlet banners, singing revolutionary songs, accompanied by the metallic sounds of the trumpets of victory. Gray-haired veterans marched and youths and women and children; sounds of the International were heard all over the world. Hundreds of nations, innumerable foreign delegations of workers, heroes from Vienna, Chinese and Germans, Japanese and Negroes, American and European proletarians marched to the red square of the Soviet capital past the great tombstone which was encircled by hundreds of soaring airplanes; the air filled with the roar of guns.

Let us pause for a moment to reflect upon the past in order better to understand the tremendous historical distance separating us from past epochs. It is very difficult indeed to imagine concretely how far we have traveled from those days. Today, in 1934, no one ever mentions the day of the fall of the dynasty, the February revolution. Why is this so? Is it forgetfulness, historic ingratitude, underestimation or intentional? Neither. It is merely a sign of the tremendous measures of historic quantities and qualities characteristic of our times. The blue gendarme of the world, the monster of Asiatic despotism, the hell of the Petersburg monarchy has collapsed under the attack of the people's revolution. Countless events, thoughts and emotions arise in our memory. A truly grandiose change has taken place on all sides. And yet, we have already forgotten that day because the breath of time, the tide of history, the fantastic pictures of events rapidly succeeding each other have pushed even the victory over the imperial power into the background of history.

The "sane" bourgeois mind, reason and "understanding" look upon all historic events from the standpoint of "normal" capitalist society. It is for this reason that the scientific history of capital has produced innumerable learned proofs that capitalism has always existed, that there has always been exchange, always private property, that "truth, goodness and beauty" have always been with selected, beloved, rich and strong men like radiant, eternal gods. Exchange is an attribute of the human soul. The stick of the savage is capital; there has always and everywhere been capital, there will always and everywhere be capital. It is true that there have been conditions which hindered capitalism: "feudal restrictions," "unenlightened minds," "common rabble," who dared to attack the sacredness of private property, the foundation of all "true" culture. However, feudal restrictions were removed, the "rabble" always appeased. Slaves were beaten, mushrooms hanged, mutinies suppressed, insurrections defeated—what more do you want? Does not "history" prove that every attempt of protest is doomed from the very start? Does not "science" prove that it is ridiculous for the "lower elements" of society to take the place of rich, educated, wise men, i.e. to take the place of the "better elements"? Once upon a time this was presented under the cloak of democracy. Today, in its revived form, it smells of the military stable, so that even some priests of the Third Reich refuse to take it in.

Nevertheless, there occurred a historic "wonder" in 1917. The "rabble" as Mr. Tschernow, a Social-revolutionary minister and "theoretician" of pink "socialism" expressed himself, had "against all reason and thru anarchy" taken power into its own hands. All the noble landowners, capitalists with and without titles, professors, generals of the infantry and cavalry, white and colored archbishops, diplomatic engineers and patriotic poets united in a counter-revolutionary alliance thirsting for the blood of the workers, for intervention and machine guns. Of course, all this was done in the name of "saving culture and civilization."

But they were firmly convinced that the entire historic change was merely an episode, that it would pass, that it could not stay in power for more than a few weeks, that it was "abnormal" like typhoid fever, that it was a temporary "war psychosis." They were certain that the "iron laws of eternity," the laws of "normal life," would overcome all obstacles, that the god of capital would again mount its throne and that all Denikins and Mereshkowskis, the banks and the stock exchange, the churches and the coquettes of the Imperial ballet would rejoice once more. But time passed and the "villains" somehow managed to score victories and now soviet power has been in existence for 17 years. Neither civil war nor intervention, neither hunger nor blockade, neither the NEP nor the expected "thermidor," neither the kulaks nor the weak industrial structure could undermine it. The heroic working class has overcome everything and has entered the area of world history as a first class organized force.

The annals of history are great and instructive, but one must know how to read them. That giant of human thought, Marx, has taught us how to read them. When today miserable lieutenants of fascism in uniform, who announce the death of Marxism, rob their ancestors, dig up the most poisonous and vicious evidences of human hatred and consider these excrements of human thought as new epoch-making discoveries the world can only laugh at them. We repeat, one must know how to read the book of history, then it can tell us much. Yes, in the course of the past thousand years there have been attempts to do away with exploitation but the workers suffered defeats. And even if for a time they were victorious—and there have been such instances recorded in history—they were not equal to their task and thus the exploiters again got the upper hand. Why? Fascist "philosophy" has only one simple universal answer to this question, namely, it's the race, it's the blood, the essential thing is the hair, the skin, the true purity of noble blood. What miserable nonsense! What poverty of thought! What narrow-mindedness! Today we know very well that even the great changes of civilization did not all take place in the manner which the "blond beast" insists in. We know of the great civilizations of savages in Africa, we know the ancient culture of America, China, India and Egypt. We know very well that in China and India all tendencies of philosophic thought can be found, which are usually regarded as the exclusive property of European culture, especially of Greek culture. How does the miserable philosophy of the Brown Shirts explain these facts?

The proletariat does not consist of slaves, partisans of small property owners. The proletariat is not a class in a slave society nor a class under a feudal system. It is a special class which grows within the framework of a society, in capitalist society with its machine base and its concentration of workers in factories. At the same time the proletariat is the decisive force of production, the bearer of a new method of production, of socialism. Socialism is not nonsense, not utopian, not a Fata Morgana. Socialism is a definite economic system rapidly growing already in the present. According to its economic base socialism stands above all hitherto existing economic systems, for it alone is capable of higher productivity of social work, of developing new forces of production. This fact alone destroys the learned and not learned analogies which try to "prove scientifically" that the final victory of the proletariat is impossible.

Capitalism, decaying, struggling with its own contradictions—not at all accidental—is going thru a

Toward The United Front In France

The National Council of the Socialist Party of France has accepted the united front proposal of the Communist Party. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 3,471 against 366.

This resolution, however, does not signify, as it may seem, a victory for the "Left", the militant elements in the French Socialist Party as the debates in the National Council show that the great majority of the leaders of the S. P. only consented to the united front with many "buts" and "ifs", and a long string of conditions.

Even this conditional acceptance would not have taken place had it not been for the fact that the Communist Party, in the preceding conference of the two central committees, made all possible concessions. The Communist Party today is undoubtedly determined to set only such conditions for the united front as will prevent an open rejection even by the Centrist S. P. Leaders. The C.P. is absolutely ready to change its proposal to a "fighting alliance against Fascism", and to take account of the objections of the S. P. leadership.

For example, in the question of the use of the political strike in the struggle against the Doumergue Government, the S. P. leadership insisted that the problem of declaring or urging strikes of any sort is exclusively a matter in the jurisdiction of the trade union organizations, and that the S. P. could not pledge itself to bring about any strike movements. The C.P., thereupon, dropped this particular paragraph and declared itself ready to call only joint meetings and demonstrations. In the conferences of the National Council the stenographic notes of the

deep crisis. Dying capitalism is unable to utilize its own existing productive forces. Fascists are so blind that they, confused by the difficulties of the economic system advocated ("Sanierung") of capitalism thru autocracy, militarism and war without realizing that this war to save capitalism is one of the most obvious symptoms of the fatal "illness" which can only be healed by the proletarian revolution.

The proletariat will inevitably win because it is the bearer of a higher mode of production which will free the productive forces, restricted and destroyed by capital. This fundamental lawfulness, real and not imaginary, advances overcoming all obstacles. Of course, this lawfulness does not exist "in itself." Men make their history, their classes, their parties, their leadership. Through them, through these living forces, thru their heroic struggle historic action is realized. And behold! Do not some ideologists and politicians of the bourgeoisie sense the inevitability of our victory? Do they not try to imitate us? Do they not try to "correct" capitalism thru "planned economy" seeing the advantages of socialism? Do they not try to find support among the masses? Do they not flirt with the word "socialism"? Did they not steal the first of May by calling the day of "national work"? But all this in ineffective and miserable and indicates their bankruptcy. Planned economy under capitalism is impossible. The national socialist fraud is becoming more and more apparent, and the victorious achievements of socialism in Russia are becoming ever clearer to the proletarians of all countries. We have raised the technique and economy of the proletariat in an unheard of tempo. We will beat the enemy on this basis beat him on all fields, from the cottage building industry to airplane manufacturing to art and science.

We know and true science teaches that we will inevitably and irrevocably win.

On the International Front

joint meetings of the two central committees were read. These proved conclusively that the C.P. wanted a genuine united front, and that all talk of Communist manoeuvres and the like is nonsense. The Right Wing and Centrist leaders of the S.P., however, have not given up the opposition to the United Front. This is clear regardless of how skillfully they clothed their opposition in such beautiful phrases about unity, as: "The S.P. has always been for unity. It has always been against splits".

According to this, one could think that they were welcoming the Communist united front proposals with great enthusiasm. God forbid! Here is the rub. The great majority of the speakers at the S.P. National Council sessions declared the united front is only valuable to the extent that it leads to organizational unity. This unity, however, is first of all impossible because of the deep principle, strategic, and tactical differences between the S.P. and C.P., and secondly, it is undesirable because it threatens the existence of the S.P. Consequently, the united front is also undesirable. In order to demonstrate the complete impossibility and undesirable of organizational unity and of the united front, most of the speakers at the National Council resorted to the long social pacifist repertoire: (1) The anti-Democratic conduct of the C.P., which antagonizes bourgeois radical voters and will aid reaction at the coming district elections; (2) A deep antagonism exists between the S.P., and the C.P. in regard to the question of defence of the Fatherland; (3) A submission of the C.P. to the Russian leadership of the C.I., and its utilization as an instrument of Russian foreign policy; (4) The pacifist tactics and frightful fear of the provocateurs which drives the workers into the bayonets of the troops, etc.

The Right Wing and the Centrist elements of the S.P. of France at the National Council did not conceal their hatred of genuine revolutionary action, i.e. Paul Faure and LeBas, as well as Frossard and Soloman Grumbaca. However, because of the conciliatory conduct of the C.P. it made their rejection of the united front proposals impossible. The S.P. leaders formulated conditions in such a manner that the joint action has assumed a social democratic character. For example—in the fight against Fascism, which includes the defence of democratic privileges, all those should be drawn into action who defend these privileges (but by which of course they mean bourgeois radical elements); all systematic application of force is to be rejected. The mass meetings and demonstrations must not be organized and repeated in such a manner that they will bring about the fatigue and indifference of the masses; (that is, in the moment when the mere meetings and demonstrations assume larger aspects.) When it is necessary to continue the activities in the form of political strikes, the fight against Fascism is to be stopped; in the same moment when the S.P. uses joint action with the C.P. it decides to take all measures in order to speed its own specific socialist propaganda.

But the course of events is not primarily decided by the good or evil intentions of the Right Wing and Centrist leaders. This action, once begun, will develop its own logic. Large joint demonstrations are set for the anniversary of the outbreak of the war and the murder of Jean Jaures. If the Socialist Left Wing, led by Zyromsky and Divert, correctly executes its tasks and the C.P. does not make any serious errors, then the prospects of an anti-Fascist struggle in France are bright.

In Underground Germany

I left Vienna about a week ago and have been seeing a very different picture since. Things have changed a great deal in Germany within the last year—more talk and less fear.

I had a very interesting time in S., and considering the fact that no visitor was expected, I had good luck in finding people. I spent most of the week with three friends. What they have to say will follow shortly.

Unemployment in this section has always been less than elsewhere. But now, due to the building of an excessive amount of motors, etc. (armaments), activity is very great. The reason for this is that many people had gone into the country. For a time, there was a considerable amount of building activity, but the appropriation for this purpose has dwindled and so there isn't so much work in this direction. However, roads, etc. are being built.

In general, wages have not been decreased. But the wages of the Storm Troopers (SA) were reduced, stirring up a great deal of discontent. In many cases, workers who have just been reemployed earn less than what they received as unemployed.

Disappointment is very evident. It is expressed more by Storm Troopers than by others. Here are some examples: Peasants were drawn into work on a new road that had to be built. They earned 88 pfennings an hour. At first, they earned more. One worker began to rail against those responsible for bringing him to this work. Another worker told him to be happy that he has work. The first one replied that with such work it is possible only to wipe the a... but not to eat bread.

A woman in M. stated that conditions were not better than before, and besides, they will not get any better. So shortly after she received the following penalty: for 30 consecutive days she was to go to the Mayor's office and each day say that things are much better than they were and will be still better.

In the factory where X works, there were two candidates for shop representatives, one a regular and the other an alternate. The first was the boss' lackey, the second a Storm Trooper who nevertheless always defended the workers. The first received only thirty votes, the second, ninety votes. But the first was made shop representative. The workers are aware of this, and the S.A. man grumbles, saying however, that it is impossible, that it is only temporary, that it cannot continue. Such stories are only a few of many, considered typical, which the workers are generally discussing.

The opposition in W. is not only a religious expression but also political discontent. It is interesting to note that the church publishes illegal literature.

Here is a story about a school where every morning, the principal enters the classroom and proclaims: "Every member of the class is a member of the Hitler Youth, except A. B. C. etc." Another story is about a war veteran who was very badly wounded in the last war. He has a daughter in the elementary school. She would leave the house every evening. One evening her father asked her where she was going. She replied that she was going to a meeting of the Hitler Youth. He thereupon ordered her to remain at home; the child pleaded that it was impossible because the "Fuhrer" said they must go. The father demanded to know who was the master, and did not allow his daughter to leave. Nazi representatives came forth and finally the "Fuhrer" himself appeared. The father drove her out stating that he was still his child's father. The "Fuhrer" replied that he should come out with his daughter. He refused.

The child did not go to the meeting and nothing happened to the father, apparently because it would have created too much scandal if they had sought to do something to this badly wounded veteran.

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WORKERS AGE

The San Francisco General Strike

A Statement of the National Buro, CPO

1. The four-day general strike of the San Francisco workers, which will go down in the history of American labor as one of its most significant events, was precipitated as the climax of the struggle of the waterfront workers of that city. The strike of the longshoremen, continuing down from the beginning of June, aimed primarily to win recognition and the right of collective bargaining and to do away with the notorious system of boss-controlled "hiring halls". The longshoremen fought courageously and with determination. The movement soon spread to other Pacific Coast ports, and the warm sympathy of the whole San Francisco labor movement was aroused. One the other hand, the waterfront employers, reckoned among the most bitterly anti-union capitalists in the country, seized upon the occasion to launch a planned offensive to wipe out unionism altogether and to convert San Francisco into a completely open shop ("American plan") town. Acting in their behalf, Governor Merriam called out the National Guard with the avowed purpose of smashing the strike. The massacre that followed stung the entire working class of San Francisco into a frenzy of indignation. Calls for action began to be heard on all sides. A conference of the trade union movement was convened at which the demand for a general sympathy strike was very strong. But no such action was taken at that time; a "strategy committee" was simply elected to aid the longshoremen in their struggle. The pressure for a general strike, however, grew from moment to moment. It became clear to the conservative leaders of the "strategy committee" that, if they did not make some concession to the unmistakable will of the masses, they would be ousted and thrown aside. On July 15, they therefore acquiesced in the general strike and placed themselves at the head of it, though they were its bitterest opponents.

2. From its very first hour the San Francisco general strike won the enthusiastic support of the masses throughout the country. Pledges and demonstrations of solidarity poured in from all quarters. On the other side, all forces and resources of capital were feverishly mobilized to smash the general strike—the municipal and state authorities, the newspapers, radio and pulpit, the vigilante hooligans, and General Johnson. A murderous "Red scare" was deliberately worked up in order to frighten the more backward elements and to confuse and divide the ranks of the strikers. But the strike held firm. Over 100,000 men were out. In spite of the formidable array of forces against it, the entire city was paralyzed in the grip of labor. The strike was not broken from without; it was disrupted from within. Using their key positions in the most unscrupulous manner, and taking advantage of the signs of confusion appearing in some quarters as a result of the "Red scare" and the hostility of "public opinion", the conservative union leaders deliberately set about undermining the strike, spreading demoralization and disintegration in every direction. Finally, on the fourth day, they felt themselves strong enough to force a decision thru the strike committee calling off the struggle on a vague promise of arbitration of the grievances of the waterfront workers. The demoralization spread further. The teamsters, who had been th moving force in precipitating the general strike, were the first to go back to work, even agreeing to haul scab loads! By large majorities the longshoremen themselves are now voting to return awaiting arbitration.

3. The inner collapse of the general strike undoubtedly has left the San Francisco labor movement weaker organizationally and morally, and, worst of all, with the conservatives still in the saddle, perhaps even more firmly than before. The consolidated open shop interests of the city are quite openly planning to take advantage of the opportunity to break the back of the trade unions in retreat. How effective will be labor's resistance, and how successful its efforts to regain its losses, will depend to a very great degree on how rapidly it learns the great lessons of the four-day general strike.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE NRA

4. The San Francisco general strike achieved a level of class solidarity and class action but rarely reached by trade unionism in this country. In it there were reflected the deep fermentations in the ranks of labor and the increasingly aggressive mood dominating it. The militancy which precipitated the great general strike was born out of a feeling of deep disillusionment with the broken promises of the NRA. During the summer and autumn of 1933, the fighting mood of the workers was closely associated with the grossest illusions as to the boons to be derived from the NRA. The increasing frequency and brutality with which the Government has acted as strike-breaker has served to awaken the workers as to the real nature of the NRA. The dissipation of these illusions under the hard knocks of reality has bred a spirit of rebellion and resentment, which has become the basis of a more sober and effective type of militancy. The workers no longer believe that what they want will be given to them by the NRA; they are beginning to realize that it must be won, if at all, thru their own organized fighting spirit. The great wave of strikes in the last few months, climaxing in the San Francisco general strike, is the clear-

est evidence of this profound change of mood of large sections of the American workers.

5. The workers engaged in the various maritime strikes on the Pacific Coast and in the general strike showed their hostility to the NRA and their lack of confidence in it in undisguised form. The NRA, on the other side, uncere- moniously dropped its pretense of "impartiality", and, in the person of General Johnson, indulged in the most venomous attacks on the strikers. No more complete revelation of the essential nature and role of the NRA could be possible for even the most conservative leaders in San Francisco were obliged to recognize that the increased strength and consolidation that the employers organizations had gained thru the NRA, were being used most effectively against the workers in the crisis. Among the historical achievements of the San Francisco general strike is certainly thoro self-exposure into which it forced the NRA.

THE CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP AND THE WORKERS

6. The great and fatal shortcoming of the San Francisco general strike lay in the fact that the aroused and militant masses in the trade unions, the able to force thru the general strike against the will of the old-line conservative leaders, proved unable to provide the strike with a leadership believing in it, devoted to it, and determined to lead it to victory. The workers proved unable to translate their fighting mood into organizational terms. The very same reactionaries who cynically announced that they had acquiesced in the strike only because they wanted to retain their positions of leadership, were given decisive control of the general strike committee and of the whole strike machinery. From the very first they utilized this control to demoralize and to undermine the strike, to bring it to the quickest possible end, without regard to consequences. It was the sheerest suicide to entrust the fate of this gigantic struggle of 100,000 to those who feared and hated it, yet that is precisely what happened in San Francisco. This fatal step was possible only because the militancy of the workers was not consciously directed or organized, because it exhausted itself in enthusiasm over the concessions wrung from the conservative leaders, because it did not see the necessity of organizational guarantees of its victories—because, in brief, there did not exist an organized left wing-progressive force functioning effectively in the San Francisco trade union movement. The fate of the general strike teaches us once again the cardinal lesson that militancy or aggressiveness of the workers can not accomplish its goal unless it is transformed into a conscious organized force ready to challenge the control of the conservative leaders and determined to deprive them of all possibility of influencing the course of the struggle.

7. In their work of demoralizing and destroying the strike from within, the reactionary forces in the strike leadership were greatly aided by William Green and other spokesmen of the top group in the A. F. of L. The statement of President Green, openly disavowing the strike and attacking it while it was still in progress, was nothing short of deliberate strikebreaking and was welcomed as such by the open shop, union hating interests on the Pacific Coast. Yet, in spite of the genuine enthusiasm that the general strike evoked in the ranks of labor all over the country, President Green's statement was not met with an indignant roar of protest as it surely deserved, but was generally allowed to pass by without comment. As a matter of fact, the only important voice of protest came from the progressive administration of the New York Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. Here, too, the fundamental cause is the same—the lack of an organized left wing-progressive force in the American labor movement as a whole. Such a force and such a force alone could have transformed the widespread feeling of solidarity into effective and organized support that would have swept aside all obstacles in its way.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

8. The San Francisco general strike represented an important stage in the struggle of the American workers for unionism, for union recognition and collective bargaining. For in spite of the fact that Section 7a of the NRA allegedly guarantees these rights to labor, the events of the last year and a half have abundantly shown that the American workers will be able to build up their unions and win union recognition only thru unceasing and determined struggle against the employers, the government, and the NRA. It is this struggle that constitutes the central task of labor in the present period.

9. The San Francisco general strike, following the Toledo strike, the Weirton case, the rupture of union relations on the part of the Republic Steel Company, and many other events, made it clearer than ever that the organized employing class of this country is fully determined not only to stem the further progress of unionism, but even to destroy whatever union organization there now exists. This, and not the alleged fear of revolution, accounts for the savage bitterness with which the employers and their servile "public opinion" (that is, the newspapers) met the waterfront workers struggle and the subsequent general strike. The collapse of the general

strike, because it disclosed the inner weakness of the labor movement, will only stimulate and encourage the union-smashing offensive.

10. If labor is to meet this offensive, it must overcome its fatal inner weakness, its conservative leadership, which never misses an opportunity to capitulate, surrender, or sell out. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the unions, especially those recruited in the last eighteen months, are growing impatient with policies and practices that benefit no one but the employers. They are demanding more militancy, more aggressiveness, more struggle, and a new leadership, representing these ideas, is making itself felt in many sections. These developments have brought consternation to the employers and to the rock-ribbed old-line leadership of the A. F. of L. Both are countering the new developments in the same way, by a drive against the more militant and aggressive elements in the trade unions under the cover of a Red scare. The police, the Federal government, the courts, and the vigilante hooligans are co-operating on the West Coast to "wipe out Communism", in actual fact, to drive out the militants from the unions. President Green has just issued a statement to the same effect—the militants must be driven out of the unions. Never was it so clear as in the San Francisco strike and after that the employers and the reactionary union officials form one fighting front against the workers!

11. If the labor movement is to weather this crisis, it must smash this joint drive of the employers and the reactionary officials to rob the unions of their aggressiveness and fighting spirit. Without regard to any political or other differences, all sincere trade unionists must now unite to defend the integrity and militancy of their organization.

12. The national committee of the Socialist Party greeted the general strike with a rousing call to solidarity and support. But this general appeal had little concrete meaning. The Socialist spokesmen and the press, especially those most influential in the labor movement, refused to level even the slightest criticism against the strikebreakers sitting in the general strike committee busily at work destroying the strike. Indeed, they justified their every move. The New York Forward, and partly The New Leader also, had the incredible indecency to try to pass off Green's statement as an endorsement of the strike. In an article on July 23, L. Hendin, the head of the New York labor committee of the S. P. does not hesitate to declare, "The brilliant leadership of the strike was positively admirable". It is true that all this comes from the right wing "old guard" of the party, but it should be remembered, first, that it is precisely this section of the S.P. that has any influence in the trade union movement, and secondly, that even under its Militant leadership, the S.P. nationally has not bestirred itself in the least to stimulate and organize the protest against the strikebreaking conduct of the president of the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, the Socialist radio station in New York allowed Ryan to attack the San Francisco strike and particularly its left wing. Even under its militant leadership, the S.P. is still in deadly fear of offending the conservative trade union bureaucracy and is thus condemned to belie its high-sounding revolutionary commitments at every turn.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

13. The official Communist Party, too, greeted the strike with a rousing call to solidarity and support. And, it, of course, did not hesitate to brand the conduct of the reactionary union leaders inside and outside the general strike committee for what it was, if not always in the most intelligible and effective manner. But, in its own way, the C.P. leadership contributed a great deal to the crumbling and ultimate collapse of the general strike. Nothing so criminally irresponsible has been seen in a long time as the efforts of Browder and the other C.P. leaders to paint the whole strike "Red", to make the most fantastic claims for Communist Party control and influence in it. Utterly unjustified by the facts as these claims were, they nevertheless played right into the hands of those who were engineering the "Red scare", were given the utmost publicity by them, and did their part in frightening the workers, confusing and dividing the strike ranks and demoralizing the strike. Neither the labor movement nor the Communist movement derived anything but great damage from these reckless and insane tactics.

14. Strangely enough, the bombast of Browder and the hysterical outbursts of the Daily Worker were in marked contrast to the policies pursued by the C.P. district leadership in California, where the party followed a much more careful and realistic course, both before and during the strike.

15. The general strike, like all of the recent struggles of labor, dealt an annihilating blow to the fundamental dogma underlying the whole dual unionist course of the official C.P.—the belief that the A. F. of L. unions are really "company unions" and are therefore incapable of fighting for the interests of the workers. Under the impact of what happened in San Francisco, the whole system of trade union policy and tactics of the C.P. went down in hopeless collapse.

16. Its fundamentally dual unionist trade union course

Independent Unionism Today

A Declaration of the National Buro, CPO

1. The changed situation in the labor movement has put an entirely new aspect to the old question of "independent" unionism. The great wave of union organization that made such headway in the early days of the NRA expressed itself primarily in the tremendous strengthening of a number of old A. F. of L. unions and in the formation of new unions on an industrial basis within the A. F. of L. (federal local unions, plant unions, etc.). But the same movement also found expression in the appearance, in various industries and various parts of the country, of "independent" unions, i.e., of local, regional, or national labor unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy how many such unions there are, or how big is their membership, but it is important to note that they are frequently to be found in basic mass production industries. In their form of organization, they are predominantly industrial in structure, although "independent" craft unions are fairly common. In general ideology and philosophy, they are typically more conservative and more backward than the general run of A. F. of L. unions. Indeed, a good deal of their "independence" is to be traced to the fact that the workers in them have not yet risen to the level of an all-embracing national movement, to their fear of any such movement as too radical just because of its all-embracing national character. In fact, some of these "independent" unions are often dominated by a narrow and restricted outlook very close to the company union ideology. The "independence" of these unions is generally not a sign of any radicalism, either potential or actual; it is, in fact, usually a symptom of the extreme immaturity of their trade union consciousness. Contributing factors in the appearance of "independent" unionism are occasionally organizational friction and jurisdictional disputes, an indifferent or antagonistic attitude on the part of the existing A. F. of L. unions, or some especially discreditable record of the A. F. of L. locally.

2. Although both are usually dual unionist in character, a clear distinction must be made between "independent" unionism in the genuine sense of the term, on the one hand, and "Red" unionism or T.U.U.L. unionism, on the other. For not only do the "independent" unions usually possess a mass base, which the "Red" unions of the T.U.U.L. lack, but the two are quite different in their ground of existence, animating philosophy, and organizational control. "Independent" unions usually arise spontaneously as a result of the backwardness of the workers involved or as a result of jurisdictional disputes, the opposition to organization of the unorganized by A. F. of L. bureaucrats, etc. "Red" unions owe their existence to the very deliberate and systematic dual unionist course of the official Communist Party. The control of the "independent" unions usually rests within these organizations themselves, so that a change of their policies, especially in relation to the A. F. of L., is possible thru convincing the members within them; the "Red" unions, on the other hand, are under the paralyzing stranglehold of the official C.P., whose auxiliaries they are in effect, so that no change of policy is conceivable as long as they remain T.U.U.L. organizations. These fundamental distinctions must be kept in mind in formulating tactics for dealing with both types of unions.

3. The chief objective of Communists and progressive unionists in dealing with these "independent" unions is to

overcome the ideological backwardness which keeps them "independent", to deepen and broaden the solidarity and union consciousness of the workers and to effect the incorporation of the organizations into the general labor movement, into the American Federation of Labor. The situations in which "independent" unionism usually appears are, however, so different and so various that, although the objective remains always the same, it is necessary to employ the utmost care in working out tactics to achieve this objective. The tactics employed must be based on the concrete circumstances in each case.

4. Great confusion and worse characterize the attitude of the various tendencies in the labor movement on the question of "independent" unionism.

The old-line A. F. of L. leadership simply refuses to recognize the existence of the problem and contents itself with repeating that the organizations involved are not "bonafide trade unions". It thus makes more difficult the rapprochement between the "independent" unions and the A. F. of L. and their incorporation within it.

The same narrow attitude is maintained by a good section of the right wing elements of the Socialist Party, while among the Militants the ideology of dual unionism and of "independent" unionism, decked out in ultra-revolutionary phrases borrowed from official C.P. sectarianism, is not uncommon. The resolution of the Detroit convention of the S.P. on the trade union question manages to combine a slightly sectarian attitude on "independent" unionism with an ultra-opportunist refusal to level any criticism at all against the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. leadership.

The Communist Party, committed to dual unionism in theory and practice, sees in "independent" unionism a new weapon in its drive to destroy the A. F. of L. unions from within and from without and to replace them by "Red" unions under its control. To further this objective, it is ready to pander to the conservative prejudices of the most backward sections of the workers, if only these prejudices can be turned against the A. F. of L. The new policy of an "independent federation of labor" is precisely such a piece of strategy. Virtually admitting the utter bankruptcy of the T.U.U.L. as a rival trade union center to the A. F. of L., it aims to create a new dual union center by combining within it the revolutionary "Red" unions and backward "independent" unions on the common ground of opposition to the A. F. of L. The unprincipled character of such a policy, diametrically opposed to the deepest interests of American labor, is obvious. Fortunately such a policy is also self-destructive and futile and can only lead to an even greater fiasco than the T.U.U.L.

The policy of such groups as the American Workers Party and the Trotskyites is a muddle of confusion, but in a greater or lesser degree both groups go a long way in the direction of dual unionist sectarianism in an anxious attempt to establish their revolutionary virtue. The very slight influence of both groups in the organized labor movement makes their course of little practical significance.

5. The Communist Party Opposition fights for trade union unity, for one united all-inclusive trade union movement as part of a fight for general working class unity against the capitalist class. We are for one union in each industry as an integral part of the general labor move-

ment. Where genuine "independent" unions exist outside the A. F. of L. our tactics are the following:

(a) In cases where two or more independent unions in one craft of industry exist, we favor their amalgamation into one.

(b) In cases where there is an independent union and no other union in the same craft or industry affiliated to the A. F. of L., we favor its affiliation to the A. F. of L. as the recognized union in the field.

(c) In cases where an independent union in a particular craft or industry co-exists with an A. F. of L. union in the same field, we favor the amalgamation of the two organizations into one and the affiliation of the amalgamated union with the A. F. of L. Such a decision for affiliation must be made by the rank and file members of the independent union on the basis of conviction and not imposed upon the membership from on top.

(d) A pre-requisite for all such amalgamation is a guarantee that the organizational rights of the membership of each of the hitherto existing unions shall remain intact and secure and that the members of both previous organizations are to be on the basis of equality in the amalgamated trade union.

6. In cases where an independent union is the established organization in the field, even that it exists side by side with an A. F. of L. union, we must,

(a) Work inside this independent union for the purpose of building it up into a strong militant union.

(b) Strive to have this union become the recognized union in the craft or industry.

(c) Propagate the idea and need of trade union joint action and ultimate unity (between the A. F. of L. and independent unions in the field) as against trade union rivalry and competition not only between the independent and A. F. of L. unions in question, but also between the independent union and the trade union movement as a whole.

(d) Our members in the A. F. of L. union in this particular field are to work on the above basis for such amalgamation with the independent union.

7. We are against the formation of any sort of independent federation of labor as against competition with the A. F. of L. on the ground that it will add further divisions in the ranks of trade unionism, and seriously hamper the achievement of labor's very urgent task of transforming the existing conservative trade unions into powerful, militant industrial unions. This holds true whether the proposed independent federation of labor is to be conservative or revolutionary in character.

8. The dominant leadership of the A. F. of L. is extremely reactionary and must be overthrown and destroyed because it is the bearer of capitalist anti-working class influence in the labor movement. But the A. F. of L. itself is the biggest body of organized labor in America, the main stream of the American labor movement, as well as the biggest trade union federation in the capitalist world. Drawing the sharpest distinction between the corrupt and reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. and the millions of workers in its ranks, we declare that the course of policy outlined above is the only one capable of winning away the masses of the conservative-minded workers from the influence and control of the reactionary labor officialdom, of opening the way to militant class struggle and revolutionary action.

THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

prevented the Communist Party from effectively utilizing the influence and connections it did possess among the San Francisco maritime workers. The same cause made the C.P. totally ineffective as a factor in mobilizing the workers in the trade unions for real support of the general strike against the strike breaking of the conservative leaders. Never was the deadly isolation of the official C.P. in the labor movement so painfully demonstrated as in the crisis.

COULD THE GENERAL STRIKE HAVE SUCCEEDED?

17. The inevitable failure of any general or sympathetic strike was the incessant theme of all opponents of the San Francisco struggle, from the employers publicity agents to William Green. The only argument ever put forward to prove the futility of the sympathetic strike whether general in extent or not, is the one contained in President Green's statement of July 21 to the effect that such a strike is no longer directed against a particular group of employers, but is immediately transformed into a clash with the government, and, of course, "government must be supreme". But this argument condemns almost any strike of whatever sort to inevitable failure since most strikes, once they have become formidable enough, meet with the opposition of the Governmental forces who rush in to the aid of the employers. And indeed this very same logic has often been employed to justify capitulation and surrender in quite ordinary economic strife.

18. With the proper policies and leadership, with careful preparation and solid organization, with the aid, or at least the benevolent neutrality of the lower middle classes, and above all, with the enthusiastic and active support of the labor movement as a whole, general and sym-

thetic strikes have been and can be successful. All facts at hand go to prove that the San Francisco strike had considerable chances of success, had the leadership of the strike and of the A. F. of L. lived up to its duties and responsibilities, had it tried to win the strike and instead of being concerned solely with ending it.

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND REVOLUTION

19. Was the general strike a revolution? In order to feed the Red hysteria, Governor Merriam and Mayor Rossi proclaimed to the world that "Moscow" had decided to start a revolution on the Pacific Coast and that the San Francisco strike was the opening gun! In dismissing such malicious nonsense and in recognizing the obvious fact that the strike had no other objective than support of the waterfront workers in an economic struggle, we must in not lose sight of the even more significant fact that, in the period of acute class struggle, that is the general strike, the main problems of revolution are foreshadowed, the organized working class, overcoming its sectional differences, confronts organized capital in open class array. But in the general strike the organized working class confronts not only the capitalist class, but also the capitalist government as its direct enemy. Never are class and political relations more clear than when illuminated in the burning glare of the general strike.

20. But it is the problem of power that emerges so sharply from every general strike. To the degree that the general strike, no matter how limited its objectives may be, is successful, to that degree are the powers of the "regularly constituted authorities" (that is, of the capitalist government) paralyzed, to that degree do the

essential powers of government slip into the hands of the general strike committee and its organs. As long as the general strike goes on, a real situation of dual power prevails, in which the power of the proletariat challenges the power of the bourgeoisie. In San Francisco exactly this situation continued for four days. "The workers committee", reports the New York Times of July 19, "has usurped the functions of government by issuing and denying permits for the transaction of business, for the transportation and distribution of foodstuffs and other public activities."

21. Significantly enough, the workers power in the general strike is not exercised thru parliamentary bodies, so cherished by the worshippers of democracy, but thru councils of workers deputies, from which the non-working class elements of the population are ruthlessly excluded. If they are to be at all effective, these councils must necessarily act in an arbitrary, dictatorial manner, without regard to constituted right; the safety of the strike is the highest law. In the general strike prototype and its instruments, we have the authentic prototype of the proletarian dictatorship and the soviet power!

22. Certainly the dim recognition of these deeper implications of the general strike frightened and confused considerable sections of the more backward strikers in San Francisco. But that is only one side of the picture. Far more significant is the effect that practical confrontation of these basic questions of revolution has upon the workers who meet them in direct and simple form in the general strike. Such practical experience, emerging from the white heat of the class struggle, is certain to prove of inestimable significance in the revolutionary education of the American proletariat!

NAZI REGIME FACES INNER CRISIS

The events of June 30th have laid bare the inner crisis of the Nazi regime. All efforts of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering cannot do away with the fact that on June 30, the deep inner contradictions of the Nazi regime, of the general rule of capitalism in Germany, were clearly revealed. A ruling class which cannot cope with the political disagreements within its own ranks except thru murder is a decaying class.

Source Of The Crisis

The present inner crisis of Nazi Germany is a consequence of the further sharpening of the economic crisis of German capitalism. The Nazi government defeated the working class. It established the political dictatorship of the Fascist party. The Nazi dictatorship, however, was unable to do away with the contradictions of capitalism in decay. The attempts of the Nazis to revive business, to overcome the crisis, have finally led to new crises. The political dictatorship only reflected its impotence in the laws of capitalist society because the Nazi regime is merely a tool of big capital.

The continuance and sharpening of the German economic crisis have intensified class antagonisms which the Nazi regime had tried to eliminate by force. Also the contradictions and conflicts within the ruling class, within the bourgeoisie, have become revived and sharpened. Criticism of fascist rule came from the most diverse elements. The workers, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the small farmer, etc., became more and more dissatisfied because the measures taken by the Fascist regime were visibly reducing their standard of living. Within the ranks of the bourgeoisie there was discontent, too, but for diametrically opposite reasons. The German bourgeoisie did not abdicate its political power because of its enthusiasm for the so-called Weltanschauung of the Nazis; on the contrary, it did so only because it expected an assurance of large profits, because it expected a start of the capitalist way out of the crisis. The Nazis delivered the working class (bound hand and foot) to the bourgeoisie; they made the greatest exploitation of the workers possible. But the mere right to exploit the workers bene-

fits the bourgeoisie little when capitalist industry is not in a condition to permit the fullest utilization of this right, when the markets do not expand and, as is the case with Germany, when foreign trade decreases. Thus, the bourgeoisie begins to find fault with the Nazi regime. Thru its political capitulation it had given up its chance to control directly the finances of the state. It began to criticize the socialist demagoguery of the Nazis which had been used by the latter to hold the S.A. and the members of the NSBO and the "Labor Front", because this demagoguery prevented them from fully utilizing the right of unlimited wage reduction which had been guaranteed to them by the Nazis.

Bourgeois Demands And Monarchist Hopes

The demand of the bourgeoisie for a simplification of the state apparatus put the various individual sections of the Fascist state and party apparatus in conflict among themselves.

The bourgeoisie demanded the reduction of the S.A. because the general discontent of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie broke thru the ranks of the S.A. Big capital feared that the S.A. would take the demagogic phrases of their leaders seriously. The SA leadership, Roehm and Co., wanted to replace the Reichswehr. In order to emphasize this demand, the S.A. leaders played the role of radicals, of fighters against reaction. In reality, they were not concerned with any anti-reactionary problems but merely with the maintenance and extension of their power. Capital did not fear the Roehms, the Heineses and other murderers of this kind. The German bourgeoisie was afraid that if Roehm could finish the Reichswehr there would be no power which would protect it, if the mass of discontented S.A. men should come under the influence of revolutionary workers.

The discontent of the bourgeoisie accounts for the optimistic hopes of the monarchist cliques which had brought Hitler into power, but had been outwitted by the Nazis. Plans of a military dictatorship, of a "people's Kaiserdom" were again discussed. Vice Chancellor von Papen started the ball a-rolling in this direction in his Marburg

speech. While Roehm & Co. masqueraded as the fighters for a "second revolution", as radical socialists, the reactionary Junker von Papen, the representative of monarchist plans, paraded as the liberal, as the champion for freedom of press etc.

Workers Must Guard Against Illusions

Further developments showed how deceptive all these illusions are which raise the hope of overthrowing the Nazi regime in any other way except thru the independent action of the working class. It is folly to hope that it would collapse of itself due to the contradictions within the ruling class or that—as the Social-Democrats have been maintaining—the monarchists would spare the working class the effort of overthrowing the Hitler regime.

The leadership of the Nazis, the Hitlers, the Goerings, the Hesses, etc. came to an agreement with big capital and with the Reichswehr. They guaranteed them the reduction of the S.A., the elimination of Roehm and Co., who were feared by the Reichswehr generals as rivals and whose demagoguery big capital mistrusted. Out of gratitude to Hitler for removing these elements the generals and big capital gave him the blessing to have it out with the monarchist circles who had dared to demand the elimination of the National-Socialist "Totality." The S.A. leaders were murdered, and at the same time the murder of Schleicher was calculated to warn ambitious generals. Von Papen was given a "polite" memorandum in his rear, the leader of the Catholic Action, Klausener, was shot in order to frighten the bourgeois Catholic politicians who sympathized and cooperated with monarchist circles.

If the events of June 30 prove how erroneous the conception of overthrowing the Nazi regime thru capitalist circles is, it also shows the deep shaking of Fascist rule. The regime can only maintain itself if it rages against the followers of its own party.

The blow against the S.A. is a blow against the mass basis of the National-Socialist party.

The attempt which Hitler now makes to fool the discontented masses by promising it the protection of morality is ridiculous in

the face of the fact that Hitler and Goering proceeded to legalize open murders not hidden even beneath a farcical court trial.

The growing economic crisis has brought about the present crisis of the Nazi regime. Since the economic and foreign prospects of the Hitler regime are anything but rosy, the contradictions of the regime will further develop despite the violence of June 30th. On the one hand, the Nazi regime cannot altogether dispense with socialist demagoguery; on the other hand, big capital and the Reichswehr, after the victory which they have wrested from the S.A. leaders, will continue to exert pressure on the government. The contradictions within the German ruling class are not eliminated by June 30th. The 30th of June shows conclusively that only the working class can take advantage of these proved it resolved to independent revolutionary action.

Significance Of June 30th

Of what significance is June 30th to the working class? Hitler's blow against the chief representatives of social demagoguery within the Nazi camp will directly result in further reduction of wages, further reduction of unemployment insurance—and social welfare in general. The bloody methods used by Hitler and Goering to exterminate their own party comrades indicates that a new wave of terror is being prepared against the working class. Goering, the bloodhound, has already announced that the situation will be utilized for mass executions in the concentration camps.

The working class must defend itself against these new attacks, against these new dangers. In order to organize such a defense, it is necessary to reach those broad masses who, thru June 30th, have become aware of the true nature of the Nazi regime. Many S.A. and NSBO men who until now had believed in the "German socialism" of the Nazis will become greatly disillusioned. Many who had hoped that the Nazi regime would, in some way or other, become a "state of justice" will now realize how unfounded that hope is. The murders being openly committed must convince even those who until now refused to believe the savage

deeds perpetrated by the Nazis in the torture chambers of the GESTAPO (Goering's secret police) and the concentration camps. And finally June 30th will show the mass of Hitler's followers that the Nazi regime is controlled by big capital.

But these masses who are becoming disillusioned can only be won over if they are given correct political leadership, if the anti-fascist working class itself organizes for the struggle, i.e., if above all it builds illegal trade unions with the help of which it can utilize the growing discontent on the factories for action. Among the S.A. people who have been expelled and persecuted, and who yesterday were more or less enthusiastic Nazis, adventurist sentiments will be manifested. These uneducated elements will try to vent their hatred against Hitler by fighting him not because of proletarian class interests but because of the illusion of "true national socialism". They will try to use those methods in the anti-fascist struggle as were taught them by the Nazis in the struggle against the labor movement—namely, individual terror and plundering. Such sentiments must be energetically opposed. It is a question of making clear to those S.A. people who today have become enemies of the Hitler regime that true national socialism was only a demagogic trick on the part of Hitler to mislead the masses, that they can wage a true fight against the Hitler regime only by fighting for true socialism, for communism, under the leadership of the organized anti-fascist working class.

In all the speeches which the Nazi leaders made in the campaign against the cranks, they tried to flatter the workman. This was no accident. The Nazi leaders know very well that they can cope with the contradictions within their own camp, with the discontent within the bourgeoisie, with the cranks of the petty bourgeoisie. But they also know very well that if an addition to their difficulties, they are faced with independent class action of the workers linking up with them the discontented petty bourgeoisie, they are absolutely lost. For that reason, the fascists flatter the workers. They fear no one but the workers.

The German working class must draw the balance sheet.

A. F. of L. ORGANIZERS REPORT NRA COLLAPSE

The NRA is today one of the most heatedly discussed issues before the labor movement.

We are printing below excerpts from the reports of A. F. of L. organizers thruout the country (American Federationist, June 1934) indicating general and widespread non-compliance with NRA code provisions. These reports further indicate that with very rare exceptions NRA has led to no improvements in the possibilities for organizations. Whatever organization has been accomplished, and that has been considerable, has come without any assistance whatever of the NRA machinery and in many cases over the opposition of NRA.

These reports assume even greater significance when we remember that in all cases the reports have been submitted by men and women in the trade union movement who have, in the main, been very favorable to NRA.

ALABAMA

Aniston.—For discrimination against union workers the Utica Knitting Mills are scheduled to appear before the Regional Labor Board.—L. E. Parnell.

Montgomery.—The Southwestern Manufacturing Company is a 100 per cent violator of the code. Laundries also evade their code.—C. W. Walls.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego.—The Southern Service Laundries (chain) have a decided anti-union policy that has been maintained for some time. The Union Ice Company, likewise, a chain concern, shows no friendliness for union labor. Employees

of these concerns seem afraid to report code violations for fear of losing their jobs. The construction industry leads in code violations with the hotel and restaurant industry following them a close second.—Otto C. Heuman.

Stockton.—There are many shocking cases of the exploitation of wage earners. Hotels, restaurants, laundries, clothing factories, auto machine shops and others discriminate against union members. Efforts to unionize have failed in many of the above crafts because of the fear of the loss of jobs. Banks, holding the whip over many industries, prevent the organization of unions.—William P. Burtz.

FLORIDA

West Palm Beach.—Ice and milk distributors and the lumber industry advise their workers not to join unions. Hotel and restaurant owners are also advising against union affiliation.—Chas J. Parmelee.

ILLINOIS

Danville.—The Illinois Light and Power Company is now forming a company union and the employees of this concern have been so coerced that they will hardly even talk to an organizer. Violations of codes are many.—Walter J. Steube.

Steger.—The Tile Textile Company, the Feature Frock Company and the School Supply Company all discriminate against union members. Codes are being violated by the filling stations and by furniture dress manufacturing industries.—C. E. Woodworth.

INDIANA

La Porte.—The La Porte Garment Company discriminates against union members.—Beatrice Diedrich.

Sullivan.—The National Refining Companies, Kraft Cheese Factory and the retail stores are intimidating workers who show a desire to join a union.—Hugh Wilson.

Kokomo.—The Reliance and McLoughlin Manufacturing Companies are discriminating against union workers. All industries with the possible exception of steel, are violating the codes.—Fred C. Blacker.

IOWA

Des Moines.—The White Line Transfer Company, Flynn Dairy and about five others have been reported to the local and state compliance boards for discriminations against employees, but those agencies are unable to get satisfactory results. There are about 15 different firms which are violating the codes.—W. B. Hammil.

Sioux City.—Discrimination of union members is made by restaurants, grocery and meat dealers, clothing and department stores, garment factories and trucking firms.—L. E. Gannett.

KANSAS

Coffeyville.—Shorter hours have meant lower wages. None of our industries are complying with the codes.—R. B. Paul.

Hutchinson.—The Morton Salt Company foremen hold personnel conferences with every employee telling them there will be no advances for union members.—Leroy Phillips.

Salina.—To the writer's knowl-

edge there is not an industry that has abided by the codes.—W. S. Duncan.

Topeka.—The Kansas Power and Light Company, the Mutual City Hand and Ripley Laundries, The Shell Oil Company and the Morrell Package Company are all antagonistic to union labor.—Fred H. Morse.

KENTUCKY

Ashland.—Hours have been shortened but wages have not been increased. The Solway Cake Company, American Rolling Mills, England Walton Leather Company and the North American Refractories Company, all discriminate against union members.—Charles Clinger.

Louisville.—With the exception of the Axton Fisher Tobacco Company, The Brown Williamson Tobacco Company and the Reynold Metal Company, firms here are against unions, and all are violating the codes.—J. T. Woodward.

MASSACHUSETTS

Fitchburg.—Code violation complaints have been filed against the theatres, shoe and garment manufacturers.—John B. McNally.

Marlboro.—Most industries have shortened the work week here to five days of eight hours but the pay has been cut on most lines to the minimum allowed by the shoe code. Almost all codes are being violated both in cutting pay and number of help employed in normal times.—John T. Tucker.

MICHIGAN

Kalamazoo.—The Atlas Press Company is working its men 57

and 58 hours a week.—George Heath.

MINNESOTA

Hubbing.—All of the mining companies are against unionization.—Lewis Deutsch.

International Falls.—Sawmill workers have been disappointed in the hearings and revisions of the lumber code as it effects the workers in this district.—Harold Reich.

Red Wing.—The Red Wing Milling Company does not want its employees to join a union.—Axel V. Anderson.

MISSOURI

St. Louis.—All industries, except where employees are organized, are violating the codes.—Jerry L. Hanks.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte.—All industries are violating codes.—G. J. Kindall.

Durham.—Most all of the cotton mills discriminate against union members—the bosses stand across the street from the union hall and get the names of those they see going in.—Albert Beck.

Fayetteville.—In the textile industry when they find out that the workers are strongly organizing, they begin to discriminate and lay them off. A lot of our sections here are worse off than before the code. Since the code they have curtailed work to two days a week. Before the code they did not charge any rent, now they charge 50c for each room and groceries are much higher. Almost every mill in Eastern is against organized labor and the writer believes that every mill is violating the code in many ways.—J. Dooley.

Bridgeport YPSL's Give Lowdown on McLevy

At a regular meeting, June 22, 1934, the YPSL circle No. 1 senior, Bridgeport, Conn., unanimously voted to endorse the following resolution to be sent to various YPSLs throughout the country for their endorsement. Let it be clearly understood that this resolution was not given impetus by or is not to be confounded with the "left" and "right" wing controversy now facing the SP. Rather, it is a sincere appeal to all comrades who are honestly concerned with socialist principles. This unhealthy situation in Bridgeport found its origin here more than 5 years ago, and reached a climax April 19, 1933, when the 5th District SP, and the YPSL circle No. 1 senior, were expelled by the local SP for voicing opposition to McLevy's tactics.

Since his election as mayor, November, 1933, his digressions from the SP program have reached such proportions that they have impelled this following resolution:

WHEREAS: Jasper McLevy, town chairman of the local SP gave official permission to Socialist elected sheriffs Cooney and Snow to enter into partnership with defeated Republican sheriffs Maloney and Hocheiser and to divide fees, and also despite protests from comrades consented to their evicting of unemployed, and

WHEREAS: He fought as mayor to retain George Eames, Republi-

can and noted manufacturer and opponent of organized labor on to the Park Board despite charter Bill. Partisan ruling to the contrary, and also appointed George H. Woods leading Republican politician and president of the local reactionary Taxpayers League as manager of the municipal garage (he later joined the SP on McLevy's recommendation), and

WHEREAS: He publicly condemned through the local press Socialist elected Educational Commissioner Jack Bergen for organizing the unemployed, and

WHEREAS: February 6, 1934, he extended official and personal welcome to Gen. Josef Haller, noted Polish fascist and pogrom instigator, and also April 6, 1934, he broke through a picket line to greet Nazi officials from the SS Europa despite vigorous protests from the Workman's Circle and kindred organizations, and after ignoring plea from the Civil Liberties Union to allow an anti-Nazi street corner rally at the scene of the meeting, and

BE IT RESOLVED: That the YPSL NEC request the SP NEC to have Jasper McLevy stand trial on the above charges and to determine why he should not be expelled from the SP of America.

SEYMOUR LANDAU, Org.
RAY BOWMAN, Sec.
M. SHLONSKY, Treas.

HOOLINGANISM MUST STOP

Page the American Civil Liberties Union! The CP which has, during recent days, thundered from the rooftops its denunciation of the Vigilantes who raided their headquarters on the west coast and smashed their meetings, has during the same days stooped to the same methods in disrupting the meetings of another workers' organization, the Communist Party (Opposition). During the past week two such meetings were broken: one in Harlem and another in Brownsville.

At the Brownsville open-air meeting, ten CP heroes assaulted one CPO member, another stalwart lord planted his fist in the face of our girl comrade, Lou Ayres. These proletarians denounced the CPO speakers to the police as "gun-men" and "veggs". When the police were absent the bull-frog chorus took up its collegial yell of "Scab, scab . . . 55 Thus does the CP create unity in the workers' ranks!

The CP will not stop CPO meetings! We accept the challenge! We urge all workers' organizations to protest the CP disruptive activities and to defend all workers meetings from being destroyed. This playing into the hands of the red-scare promoters can only be disastrous to ALL working-class organizations.

THE CPO CALLS UPON THE PARTY TO REPUDIATE THESE IMITATIONS OF THE BLOODY HENCHMEN OF THE BOSSES!

CPO Training School Meets with Great Success

At the final session held Thursday evening July 26th the students of the National Training School unanimously agreed that the 3 weeks training course had more than fulfilled their expectations, had laid the basis for an understanding of Marxism, and should result in an improvement of their activities in the various industries and localities.

"Above all, the courses taught us the spirit and approach of Marxism," one student remarked. "More than ever do I understand and am convinced of the correctness of the line of action of the C.P.O.," another comrade said. "We are now prepared to go back to our districts and apply the Marxism that we have learned," was the remark of a third worker.

Forty-seven workers and farmers attended the School, from 14 different cities and centers of the United States and Canada, including Seattle, Nebraska, Chicago, Detroit, Ft. Wayne, Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Boston, Vermont, Hartford, Newark, Patterson and New York City. The School was truly international, comprising Americans and Canadians, Italians, Jewish, Negro and Chinese workers. Various industries were represented as, textile, needle, building trades, printing, metal, as well as some from the ranks of the unemployed.

Seven full courses were given—

on principles and history of the Communist movement, the philosophy and theory of Marxism, American History, Trade Unionism, and problems of mass work. Special talks were given on the problems of various industries, unions and localities; of work among the unemployed, the negroes, the farmers, and the youth.

The students combined practical work with their studies—participating in a demonstration against a scab agency and for solidarity with the San Francisco strikers, speaking at, and attending open air meetings, visiting Union Headquarters and observing meetings of Union Executive Boards and Committees.

Conferences were held with each individual student regarding their future activities. Arrangements were made with the farm students for a further study of the farm question. Some of the students are being sent out as organizers for the movement in the South and the West.

The Communist Party (Opposition) is confident that the students of the National Training School, both those who are members of the organization and those who are not, will prove the value of the National Training School to the American working class and working farmers through their activities in the coming struggles of American Labor.

ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S REVOLUTION

Editorial Note:—The following article has been in type for two weeks. Its clear analysis of the Austrian situation has been amply justified by recent events.

Austria And The Comintern

The striking contrast between the passivity in the face of the Nazi triumph into which the German Communist Party had been manoeuvred because of its years of sectarianism, on the one hand, and the heroic resistance of the Austrian Social-democrats to the Heimwehr-Dollfuss provocation, on the other, is a blasting indictment of the whole course followed by the Communist International in recent times. But even more significant in this respect is the absence from the battle scene of the Communist Party of Austria which, in its numerous manifestos, is wont to parade as the "vanguard of the Austrian proletariat." Thru the four days of fighting it never so much as betrayed the slightest sign of its existence. Pitifully weak, but worse than that, self-isolated from the living body of the labor movement by its absurd sectarianism, vegetating in its own impotence, it had not the slightest influence upon the actual course of events. History completely ignored it!

In the stormy days of July 1927, the C.P. of Austria couldn't make up its mind to issue the slogan of workers councils but in September 1929 it suddenly discovered (Vienna Rote Fahne, September 22, 1929) that: "The situation has sharpened so much in the last few days that the struggle for a Soviet Austria has been placed on the immediate order of business by history." With this adventurist recklessness, the official Communist spokesmen combined a most virulent form of the "social-fascism" mania. When the government launched a savage offensive upon the trade unions in March 1930, the Vienna Rote Fahne so far lost all sense of proletarian responsibility as to expresse a careless indifference as to the consequences—for were not the trade unions practically "Fascist" organizations anyway. "The difference between the Fascist and social-fascist trade unions is the difference between competitors of different social layers and different social demagogy" (Vienna Rote Fahne, April 7, 1930). With such a conception, is it any wonder that the official Communist sect in Austria found itself completely isolated from the big masses of the proletariat, without the slightest influence among them?

As To Social Fascism

The Austrian events have placed the final seal of refutation upon the philosophy of leftist sectarianism underlying the entire system of official Communist tactics today. What is now left of the notorious doctrine of "social-fascism"? Was the Austrian Social-democracy the "left wing" of Fascism on February 12? Is the Social-democracy the "main social prop of the capitalist order" today in Austria? The whole bombastic structure of political abuse parading as political argument has now finally been smashed to smithereens by what happened in Austria.

With the vicious doctrine of "Social-fascism" falls also the disruptive trade union tactics and the utterly

By WILL HERBERG

sectarian opposition to the very conception of a united labor front, that has doomed the Austrian Communist movement to such hopeless sterility and insignificance. The most sacred dogmas of official Communist International policy now stand once more condemned from beginning to end in the test of life itself.

Revolution Clears The Road

The iron broom of revolution ruthlessly sweeps away all that is rotten in the theory and practise of the labor movement. But while it is the fundamental principles of reformist Socialism that stand refuted by the lessons of the civil war in Austria, it is not the principles of Communism that have failed to stand the test but rather the utterly false and sectarian policies and tactics today dominating the official Communist movement. The basic principles of Communism, on the contrary, have again been confirmed to the hilt by the great events in Austria.

What Next In Austria?

What now? The Dollfuss-Heimwehr regime has far from stabilized itself even to the relative degree in which we can speak of the stabilization of power of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany. The Heimwehr still lacks any broad base of popular support even among the lower middle classes and it is certain that the struggle between it and the Nazis, with all the international implications of such a struggle, will continue in an even more acute form. Within the Fatherland Front, the general organization of the Dollfuss-Heimwehr forces, moreover, there are deep and significant contradictions threatening its very existence and the same is true of the Nazi movement. But the Italian and German experience teaches us the suicidal folly of expecting these contradictions to blow up of themselves. Only the independent intervention of a powerful and well organized working class, clear in its aims and policies, can convert the objective social contradictions within the Heimwehr and Nazi camps into real political conflicts, thus undermining the bloody Dollfuss dictatorship, staving off the ominous possibility of a Nazi triumph and opening the way to a proletarian revolution.

New Battles Coming

The Austrian working class, too materially weakened by the defeated insurrection and the Dollfuss terror, will emerge from the fire of battle morally and politically strengthened. It is already clear that the Austrian labor movement will not be so easily or so completely suppressed as was the German. In a very real sense, the fate of the Austrian proletariat depends largely on what it does with its own defeat.

Defeated armies learn well—or so they should! There are some defeats, such as in Russia in 1905, that are but temporary retreats for the sake of a more powerful advance. The real assimilation of the great political lessons of the heroic four-day struggle would arm the Austrian working class with ideological weapons that would render it invincible. But will the

working class movement of Austria learn from its own defeat?

Lesons That Must Be Learned

Unfortunately neither the leadership of the Social-democracy nor that of the official Communist movement seems to have learned anything from the great experiences of the Austrian proletariat. In his recent pamphlet, "Der Aufstand der Österreichischen Arbeiter," Otto Bauer undertakes an examination of the mistakes of the Austrian proletariat. And what "mistakes" does he find? First, perhaps the Austrian Social-democrats should have "tolerated" (i.e., supported) the Ruesch government just as the German Social-democrats did the Brüning regime! Secondly, perhaps Renner should not have resigned as president of the Nationalrat in March 1933 because this resignation gave Dollfuss the opportunity to abolish parliament! Thirdly, perhaps the general strike came too late! It should have been called a year sooner, on March 15, 1933 when Dollfuss arbitrarily dissolved parliament.

The last point of criticism is unquestionably in place and well justified. The second point is utterly trivial and only indicates how superstitious is Bauer's faith in parliamentary formalities. His first criticism, however, that perhaps the Austrian Social-democracy was too left, too radical, proves that not only has Bauer learned nothing but that his ingrained opportunism has even been strengthened and intensified.

And indeed how shallow is Bauer's whole approach! It never seems to occur to him that perhaps some basic reexamination and overhauling of the fundamental principles of Social-democracy may be necessary. If the Austrian workers cannot go beyond Bauer, they will certainly not be able to rise to the level of their historic tasks.

To speak of self-criticism and learning from experience in connection with the leadership of official Communism is almost a contradiction in terms. Whatever is intelligible in the verbose articles and declarations on Austria in the official Communist press is merely a stale repetition of the basic dogma of infallibility: "The line of the Communist International has always been, is and will always be absolutely correct." So theoretically sterile has the official Communist leadership become that it cannot even draw the obvious lessons of the political bankruptcy of Social-democracy and the confirmation of Communist fundamentals!

Forward To Victory

Nevertheless, the vital political lessons of the four-day insurrection and of the entire preceding period cannot be lost for the Austrian proletariat. With their systematic assimilation there will emerge from the ranks of the heroic Austrian Social-democrats a really revolutionary Socialist movement, a Communist movement, which will be in the position to lead the Austrian workers to their emancipation from the yoke of Fascism and capitalism. It is to this great task that the Austrian Communist Opposition and all constructive revolutionary forces in the Austrian labor movement are bending their entire energies!

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Two Decades - In Retrospect

Judging by the bourgeois historians and economists' interpretations of events since the fateful shot was fired at Sarajevo, the capitalist class has about as little hindsight as foresight.

The last, or rather the first, great, decent, civilized, respectable war was fought under the banner of "democracy". It was fought to determine Germany's chances of dislodging British imperialism from its then dominant position. Today both sides, can claim partial victory in the conflict. German imperialism did dislodge the British and British imperialism did prevent Germany from replacing it. While the two leading imperialist pirates were firing volleys at and plunging knives into each other, a third one and even more avaricious pirate, Wall Street imperialism, saved "democracy" by displacing British imperialism as the dominant world power.

Apparently inspired by the savagery of Hitlerism, the German bourgeoisie are now dreaming of reopening the conflict for world hegemony. This is the essence of the Nazi drive for pan-Germanism. These dreams of the German ruling class are the nightmares of the German people. The French bourgeoisie anxious to maintain the loot they grabbed after four years of suicidal conflict, are now prepared to plunge deeper into hell in order to preserve the status quo.

Of democratic rights, the supposed preservation of which cost 10 million in killed and 20 million in wounded, the capitalist world was never as much stripped as it is today. And never before were there as feverish preparations for a struggle to re-divide the spheres of influence, the world markets, the territories of colonial and semi-colonial peoples as today. It should be clear even to the most purblind that the actual objectives and even the most inflated shibboleths of the last war have come to naught.

But the bourgeois statesmen and imperialist war strategists feel that there is nothing left for them to do except try again to settle and stabilize relations among themselves thru an even a bigger war. Many of them feel that the time is not yet at hand to start the cannonading. With too many people painful memories of the last war still linger. Some governments need more time for preparation. Others do not yet trust sufficiently the great mass of people in their countries. All of them fear the role of the Soviet Union in such a conflagration and dread particularly the possibility of a proletarian revolution sweeping their countries in the event of war.

It is significant commentary on the insolubility of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system that the final and most decisive solution of the bourgeois order, that is war, not only doesn't solve anything but aggravates old diseases and breeds new and even more dangerous ones. What more crushing proof could there be of the decay of the very roots of the capitalist social and economic order?

Look at Austria. In 1914 she was the cockpit of capitalist antagonisms in Europe. The old Austro-Hungarian empire, with its conflicting nationalities, with its artificial economic foundations, was a source of violent infection. The surgery of imperialist bayonets was offered as a cure. But the cancer persists in more violent form, the Austria is today but a pitiful fraction of her former self. More than in 1924, little, strangled, impoverished, hemmed-in Austria, but a painful memory of her former self, is today a source of the most virulent germs of a devastating war. Economically Austria today is more of a monstrosity than even the old Austro-Hungarian empire of Franz Joseph II was.

Peace and security were promised to the masses by both the victor and vanquished in the last war. Today, however, neither feels himself secure. German imperialism feels it did not meet a deserving fate at Versailles. French and British imperialism fear for their pillage. Furthermore, the area of infection has been tremendously enlarged to include the Pacific and to transform the Far East into a volcano. Then, Yankee imperialism, evermore aware of the increasing challenge to its hegemony is arming itself for a final showdown. Even the most silent of the capitalist statesmen are now shiekling about the decisive days to come in 1935-1936.

But it would be unfair to maintain that all the bourgeois statesmen merely fail to see the futility of war as a way out of the difficulties and crises of their system. War is the highest expression of capitalist competition. Before this inevitability, the bourgeois statesmen are helpless.

The situation, however, is not hopeless. Far from it. Historically speaking, there is one class left which is constructive and progressive. This is the working class. If the international working class, will draw the necessary lessons from its costly experiences, from its serious blunders and defeats, as well as from its victories, then, there is hope and certainty that the world will be spared the probability of pushing back the clock of human history thousands of years. The Russian working class, aided by the toiling masses in the rural areas, was able to tear one-sixth of the world out of the hands of the Czarist oppressors and capitalist exploiters. Today, thanks to the incessant and vigorous peace efforts of this workers and farmers Soviet Republic, the plague of war has not yet broken out.

While the capitalists are feverishly preparing the next war, the workers should be systematically preparing to be able to do what the Russian proletariat did in order to obtain victory and peace and a better day. Now is the time for the workers of all lands to band themselves together to work out an effective program to paralyze the war-makers and to destroy the war-breeding system of capitalism. This means united effort to defend the only fatherland the international proletariat has—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic. This means united action in every country and between the workers of all countries to defeat the war maneuvers of all capitalist governments. This means that the workers must turn a deaf ear to the hypocritical cries of their exploiters must take steps to prepare themselves to transform imperialist war into civil war—into the final war and the end of all war.

After twenty years it is time that we have learned!

YCL Blunders Toward New Disasters

So inspiring was the Seventh Convention of the Young Communist League (USA) that, when it finally terminated and convention reports were given to the sections, a majority of the membership failed to show up. One section estimated its membership meeting as follows:

"The main shortcoming of the meeting was the poor attendance. From a membership of 160 only about 60 were present."

"The discussion was also very poor. This was due to the fact that the comrades were not prepared to speak; and the comrades from the shop units did not even see the importance of bringing out their experiences, but spoke on some other topics."

It was admitted that there still exists an enormous turnover in membership. The League gained 3000 new members in the course of the last three years, making a total membership of 6,000, it was declared. While the figures are of dubious validity, one thing is glaring: the political life within the League is such that despite some recruiting the League fails to hold its converts. The above quotation cuts deep into the picture of League life under the guidance of the "infallibles."

Tricking The Faithful

The opening night of the convention found Don Quixote riding forth again—Earl Browder delivering a stereotyped sermon of slight import. Then we had that galaxy of very dim stars, Comrades Krumbine, Gil Green, etc., indulging in an orgy of self-laudation and rah-rah, night of endless windjamming. As the convention proceeded the desire to hear something "more substantial, more penetrating, more critical" swept the more intelligent sections of the membership. To offset the growing dissatisfaction, largely inarticulate, the League leadership pulled that old one-phoney out of the bag—another "new" twist in the line: a "non-sectarian" attitude and approach to the problems of the Communist youth. This trick served its purpose, however, since the membership still hoped that the leadership was not totally incompetent and blind. Many felt that perhaps a new day was breaking and the promises of "non-sectarianism" were its harbingers. Here then is the tragedy: new eager and devoted young Communists keenly aware that "something is wrong" being kidded into accepting promises as a substitute for political re-examination. The fog of confusion hangs heavily over the League.

Kingdom Of The Blind

The Seventh Convention of the Young Communist League (USA) took place one year after the inauguration of the "New Deal" in the United States, and the victory of the Nazi in Germany. The new situation which therefore confronts young Communists should in the line of duty have impelled the League to undertake the most exhaustive analysis of the toiling youth under the Blue Eagle, and an equally penetrating inquiry into the causes for Fascism's victories in harnessing youth to its anti-working class program. In connection with the latter, the Young Communist International must be charged with deliberately obstructing such investigations. As the map of Europe turns blacker with the Fascist successes all the YCI can tell its membership as an alibi is "Social-Democracy is to blame" and "our line is forever correct!" With such profundity being ladled out to the Leagues as the very peak of Communist analysis, is it any wonder that the confusion reigns, and puppet-leaders

handle new memberships with cynical trickery. What has League learned from the German disaster? Where has it worked out a program for the defeat of fascist propaganda amongst the youth? To refuse to analyze the events in Germany honestly can bring nothing but paralysis to the Leagues, and eventual disaster? Let the League members ask: Did work in line with theories of Social Fascism and united front from below cripple the League and party in Germany?

With characteristic insolence something was unreel as an analysis of youth under the NRA codes. While the more obvious features of discrimination in the codes are noted, many of the less obvious ones are totally ignored. The objective of the Roosevelt Administration in creating a new source of cheap labor thru the codes—far below code minimums for highly mechanized industry finds no adequate attention in the resolutions and draft thesis.

Phantasy In Red

Still living in a world of heroic phrases instead of reality, once again it was declared that we are witnessing in the United States "at the present time," a swift tempo of radicalization among the youth. Comrades in the League who believed that "the main process taking place among the youth is 'disillusionment' and not radicalization" were severely chastized because "such a line leads to the conclusion that the working youth is not an active section of the working class and that it is being transformed into passive force by composing the reserve of the bourgeoisie."

Since 1930 we have been deluded by the League with this radicalization theory. To speak of the "main trend" being one of "radicalization" is utter unmitigated bunk. True many young Negroes and several thousand students have definitely gone to the left (not all to the same degree however), many young workers are easier to approach today and to be won for Communism—non one denies this! But to speak of the mass of youth moving leftward is but the mirage seen by a leadership crazily thirsty for retaining its grip on the membership. But if as the League contends millions of youth are going left then why the pitiful handful of young Communists why not the League grown enormously with its ever "correct line"?

It is in the American Federation of Labor where hundreds of thousands of young workers have poured in the past year that we find the most significant signs of youth learning the first elementary lessons in the class struggle. And what does the League propose in this connection? Disrupting the A. F. of L. and building an Independent Federation. Proposing in other words to desert the largest body of youth who have begun to fight to the mercies of the Greens and Wolls instead of being with this mass to show them the road for cleaning their unions and developing them further along the lines of militant working-class action politically as well as in the economic field. This desertion of the masses is what characterizes the policies of the League today. This accounts for their self-confessed isolation from the mass of young workers. In the student field the League thru the National Students League has been in the forefront of some heroic and splendid battles, but it at the same time fought against the creation of a wide militant organization which would include students moving toward the left but still having a long road to travel.



THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE NRA Local 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Vigorous criticism of the NRA from the radical labor standpoint, as well as a general program for trade unionism to avoid its perils and reap any advantages possible under it, are contained in the new attractively gotten up pamphlet just published by Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., under the title, "The Labor Movement and the NRA."

The pamphlet is an exposition of the viewpoint of progressive unionism as typified by Local 22. It includes the minority report presented to the Chicago convention of the International by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, in his capacity as member of the convention's committee on officers report. In brief but incisive terms Zimmerman examines the nature of the NRA, its effects on wages, hours, and profits, the menace of company unionism and "government unionism" being fostered by it, and the dangers it holds out to labor's right to strike. He then proceeds to outline an effective policy for the trade unions. It was because the International followed such a policy, a "policy of aggressive strike action and dependence only on the forces of the union", that this union made such headway during last year. Now, Zimmerman concludes, it is necessary for the International openly to recognize this policy, acknowledge the estimation of the NRA on which it is based and champion this viewpoint vigorously in the general labor movement, in the A. F. of L. In the declaration of Local 2 on the NRA, which forms the second part of the pamphlet, the same conceptions are laid down in a formal manner.

Copies of the pamphlet are to be obtained free at the union office, 232 West 40 Street, Room 508.

ZIMMERMAN SCORES GREEN

(Continued from Page 1)

ent. This action on the part of Joseph P. Ryan, chairman of the Council and head of the International Longshoremen's Association, is interpreted by the dressmakers' executive board as not simply a violation of its own rights and privileges in the council but primarily as a maneuver to keep the council from taking any action on the San Francisco strike.

Charges that, in his capacity as chairman of the council, Ryan suppressed attempts to place the council on record in support of the recent San Francisco general strike, were made in a special declaration of protest adopted unanimously by the Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local No. 22, I. L. G. W. U., on Tuesday, July 24th. The declaration of Local 22 follows:

"The Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local No. 22, I.L.G.W.U., indignantly protests against the high-handed conduct of Joseph P. Ryan, who, as chairman of the Central Trades and Labor Council at its last meeting, on July 19, 1934, arbitrarily prevented the representative of our local, Brother Charles S. Zimmerman, from reporting on the decisions of the Local and from introducing, in accordance with instructions of our local, a resolution pledging support to the San Francisco general strike then in progress.

"Such conduct on Mr. Ryan's part constitutes an intolerable violation of the rights and privileges of our Local Council. But, in this case, the consequences go even further, for thereby the New York labor movement has been prevented by Mr. Ryan from officially expressing its solidarity with the inspiring struggle of the San Francisco trade unions on behalf of the common interests of labor.